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Bonn keeps a low profile on the Gulf crisis

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Should anyone have imagined Bonn might be able to mediate in the Gulf war, the Federal government itself has dispelled any such illusions.

The way in which it played down the one-day visit to Bonn by Foreign Minister Velayati of Iran, stressing what Foreign Genscher termed the Bonn government's strict neutrality in the war between Iraq and Iran and taking the greatest care to balance relations with the belligerents, permits only one conclusion.

It is that Bonn is only too happy to let anyone else who feels so inclined to pull the chestnuts out of the fire; it certainly has no intention of doing so.

There may be occasions, in the world at large, when Herr Genscher dons the mantle of the grand master, lending diplomats less adept at finding the felicitous phrase a helping hand, to say, the UN in New York.

Back in Bonn he prefers to maintain a low profile, lying so low that the neighbouring French, groaning under Ayatollah Khomeini's crescent moon, barely notice him.

He can hardly be blamed. Bonn would be biting off more than it could chew if it were, for instance, to style itself the last Western country with which Iran was on speaking terms now America, Britain and France are no longer in the mullahs' good books.

The Federal Republic of Germany has none of the utensils of power in the Middle East, no aircraft carriers or destroyers in the Persian Gulf. All it can be is a booster station for goodwill and a country ready to help if the worst comes to the worst.

The Soviet Union has in contrast discreetly but effectively demonstrated how influence can really be gained in what undeniably is difficult terrain.

Moscow has been largely out of the running for decades in the Middle East, seeking in vain to draw attention to itself via plaus to hold a fresh Middle East peace conference.

Yet it has now gained a fair amount of ground. Mr Gorbachov had some basis for offering to cooperate with the United States in the Gulf for the sake of peace (an offer President Reagan turned down).

Appearances are, as so often, deceptive. While the world assumed it to be a clear fact that Iran would never again hoochoo with the Kremlin, Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Yuli Vorontsov skilfully upheld Soviet interests on his recent visit to Teheran.

Russia, for centuries the arch-enemy

of all Iranian rulers, is still on talking terms with the ayatollahs even though it has lent Iraq military support in the Gulf war.

Sadly, that is more than can be said of the Americans — and not just since Robert McFarlane's secret mission.

Iran has only itself to blame for continuing to appear to be the bogeyman of the region.

It has blotted its copybook with its ideologists' blazing speeches, its demonstrative xenophobia and its sending of child soldiers into battle with Iraq — laying it wide open to a poor press.

These are the reasons why the UN Security Council's peace resolution is basically anti-Iranian in tenor even though it does not expressly say so.

By rejecting the UN resolution (the Iranian Foreign Minister said it was unjust for failing to name Iraq as the aggressor), Teheran has added a further stroke of the brush to its detrimental image in the West.

Events in connection with the Franco-Iranian war of embassies point a gloomy enough picture already.

By a stroke of irony the Teheran street where the French embassy is under siege bears the name of Néaphile-Château, the French town where Khomeini spent years in exile.

The US Navy cannot, on the other hand, hope to maintain the low profile British and French naval units operating in the area enjoy. The waves of propaganda have long been riding far too high in the United States for that.

It might be more worthwhile trying to widen the consensus on which the UN Security Council resolution is based.

It calls on both belligerents to withdraw forces to their respective borders, ignores the issue of guilt and assigns to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar a mediating, peacemaking role befitting the UN.

At present the United Nations cannot hope to accomplish much more than perhaps to put a damper on the conflict.

Amazingly and gratifyingly, the five permanent members of the Security Council have succeeded in arriving at a joint approach to the situation, a fact that forfeits none of its significance when their different interests are more closely examined.

The differences, which might be said



Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) with the Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, who was visiting Germany.

(Photo: AP)

to be mainly tactical in nature, have been outweighed by the realisation that no one can hope to make headway alone in the Middle East.

The morast into which the Shatt el-Arab marshes between Iran and Iraq have been literally transformed can figuratively be said to engulf everyone who is so forward as to set foot in it.

All concerned are reluctantly to take the second, decisive step. It was clear while the resolution was being drafted that agreement would not be reached on sanctions, which alone would have given the resolution any real cutting edge.

The powers that have so solemnly called on Iran and Iraq to bury the hatchet are the countries that export most arms to the area.

No-one seems willing to risk imposing an embargo on arms shipments, doubtless partly because arms dealers would find their way round an embargo in any case.

Iran, on which a de facto embargo has already been imposed, is proof by way of its constantly acquired fresh supplies of arms and equipment of what good a further, formal embargo might do.

That leaves hopes that the political pressure exerted by the UN resolution might have some effect. Bonn, for instance, does not see Iran's rejection of the Security Council resolution as Teheran's last word on the subject.

Some progress would have been made if the resolution were only to contribute toward a scaling-down of each side's view of the other as an enemy.

And if headway were to be made in the Gulf, other regional conflicts that weigh heavily on the world might also be defused.

Gerhard von Glinski
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 24 July 1987)

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

New initiative gets Geneva talks moving

Days before Mr Gorbachov's latest double zero offer the chief US delegate at the Geneva disarmament talks, Max Kampelman, complained that the talks between the superpowers were marking time.

The Soviet Union, he said, was to blame. It was constantly adding new obstacles to agreement.

The Kremlin insisted, for instance, on retaining 100 longer-range intermediate nuclear missiles in Soviet Asia instead of eliminating this missile category entirely, as the United States was willing to do.

The Soviet leader's latest proposal brushes this obstacle aside. It also invalidates Mr Kampelman's complaint that the Soviet Union was only prepared to accept a worldwide zero solution if the Americans vacated their forward nuclear bases in the Pacific.

General Secretary Gorbachov specifically said that the Soviet Union was not linking "this initiative with the issue of the US nuclear presence in Korea, the Philippines and Diego Garcia."

He limited himself to voicing the hope that the Americans would at least not boost their fighting strength in these locations.

Last but not least, he offered to settle for worldwide zero terms in respect of shorter-range intermediate nuclear missiles, a category Moscow had also initially proposed to retain in Asia.

Mr Gorbachov's initiative is doubtless aimed at impressing the Soviet Union's Asian neighbours, such as Japan.

They had complained that if zero terms were agreed in Europe part of the Soviet missile capacity would be transferred to Asia, merely increasing the threat to their own territory.

Not for nothing did Mr Gorbachov make his latest proposal on the anniversary of his 1986 Vladivostok speech outlining an Asian-Pacific peace plan.

Yet his initiative is no less important for Europe. Might it lead to a breakthrough in Geneva?

The objection that the Soviet leader is given to outlining in speeches and interviews enticing prospects that are a far cry from what Soviet delegations are prepared to offer at the conference table holds no weight this time.

The Soviet Union promptly tabled the substance of Mr Gorbachov's latest proposal at the Geneva talks. A spokesman for the White House, nonetheless sounded a sceptical note, saying:

"We have seen statements with positive Soviet responses in the past — only to discover that unacceptable strings were attached."

Yet what could be unacceptable about a proposal that takes into account not only US demands but also objections raised by America's allies?

Sad to say, for the experts the question does not arise in terms that are this simple.

Mr Kampelman mentioned the 100 INF missiles Moscow proposed to keep stationed in Soviet Asia — and two other obstacles.

One was the Soviet objection to converting missiles to shorter ranges, an idea of which some Western strategists are enamoured as a means of retaining at least part of Nato's nuclear capacity.

The other was the demand for the Bundeswehr's 72 Pershing 1a missiles to be scrapped, which brings the Bonn government into the picture.

Both Bonn and Washington have hinted that the German Pershings might be scrapped if need be, but Mr Kampelman repeated the opposite viewpoint, which happens to be official policy in Bonn.

The Bundeswehr's Pershings were, he said, third-state systems — like the British and French nuclear deterrents — that were not at the superpowers' disposal, or for that matter, their proposal.

This is not strictly true, or the whole truth. The Pershings' nuclear warheads are kept under US lock and key, so Washington could well negotiate where they are concerned.

Even more food for thought is provided by the foreign policy impression created by this special role of Bonn's, a role described by *The Times*, London, us follows:

"The West German government insists that as these belong to Bonn they should form no part of the superpower treaty."

The implication is that the Federal Republic is blocking progress on disarmament, which is surely the last thing we need!

The Bundeswehr's Pershings would long ceased to have been a bone of contention had not strategists in Washington been reluctant to part with them too.

Mr Kampelman's accusation that the Soviet Union had slipped in at the last minute the demand for these missiles to be scrapped too, thereby proving itself to be obstructionist, can be reversed.

Whenever the Soviet Union, since Mr Gorbachov took over at the Kremlin, has agreed to Western demands either the United States or Nato has tabled other demands that must, the West argued, be met at the same time.

The list of concessions Mr Gorbachov has made is lengthy.

Until recently the Russians insisted — not unreasonably, many might feel — on a British and French nuclear potential being included in any disarmament provisions.

In other respects the situation is unchanged, with the East giving priority to security issues and the West attaching importance to progress on all three baskets of issues mentioned in the Final Act and the 1975 Helsinki accords.

The Nato states have finally got round, after lengthy procedural disputes among themselves, to taking their proposal for a conference on conventional disarmament throughout Europe.

Providing the East agrees, once progress has been made in Geneva there should be two rounds of CSCE talks next year:

— a continuation of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe (at which initial agreement was reached on verification by means of on-the-spot inspection)

— and separate talks between Nato and the Warsaw Pact on a mandate for conventional arms control.

Moscow, with the goodwill effect in mind, would like to include the neutral and non-aligned countries among the 35 CSCE states in these talks.

But it should be prepared to accept that security issues of this kind can only be negotiated between the pacts, especially as the interest shown by the neutral countries varies widely. Switzerland for instance showing virtually no interest in taking part.

The Vienna preliminary talks on a conventional arms control mandate have shown how complex conventional disarmament will be. Invasion capability involves not only the quantity of weapons but also their deployment.

Does Mr Gorbachov feel he can af-

Vienna delegates head home — with still a lot to do

The Helsinki review conference in Vienna was due to end this summer. Instead, the 35 CSCE delegations packed their bags for the summer recess only.

Providing the conference climate stays stable a number of details will be clarified by the end of July to ensure swift progress when the conference is reconvened in mid-September.

If the CSCE talks, which have been more or less tiredly marking time for months, are lent fresh impetus by America and Russia signing a medium-range missile agreement in Geneva, the final document, agreed as always by consensus, might hopefully be approved by the year's end.

The prospects look none too good at present for Mr Gorbachov's conference on humanitarian cooperation.

The Kremlin already seems to have climbed down a peg or two; during Herr Weizsäcker's visit to the Soviet Union

mention was merely made of a meeting to discuss issues relating to the third, or humanitarian affairs, basket of Helsinki accords.

Paris strictly refuses to discuss human rights in Moscow. The French feel it would be more appropriate to discuss human rights at a conference held in Paris in 1989 to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution.

In other respects the Eastern attitude towards third basket issues at the Vienna review talks does not yet reflect the stated Soviet policy.

All told, six to eight expert gatherings are envisaged in Vienna, in addition to agreements on cultural institutes, trade embassies and scientific exchange, before the next Helsinki review conference is due to be held.

Bonn and Prague are under consideration as the venue for a CSCE conference on economic affairs, or second basket issues, while Britain has offered to host an expert conference on information.

The part to be played in security and cooperation in Europe by the new media in the communications sector has been suggested as an item for discussion.

Italy has proposed to hold an expert conference on science, while Paris and Bonn propose the holding of a festival of modern art.

The Polish proposals to hold a symposium on the European cultural heritage in Cracow has supporters, including the two German states, but does not yet enjoy consensus approval.

The United States and Canada still see this idea as cultural tourism for historic monuments officials. Yet successive Washington administrations have been persuaded that the Helsinki process amounts to more than such superficial considerations.

Are not America and Canada members of the team of architects who helped to build the common European house of a shared European identity on old foundations? *Udo Bergfolt*

[Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 July 1987]

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Does Mr Gorbachov feel he can af-

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Premier leads poll campaign from a hospital bed

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Schleswig-Holstein's Christian Democratic Prime Minister Uwe Barschel had everything lined up: the Kiel regatta before the summer recess, then the Schleswig-Holstein music festival with stars from all over the world and, finally, the state assembly elections on 13 September.

But the best-laid plans can be upset and he is still in hospital with a badly fractured hip after a plane crash at the end of May and is unlikely to return to the fray until the last six weeks of the campaign.

With the best will in the world Social Democrat Björn Engholm, a strong Opposition leader, will not be able to postpone his campaign until Herr Barschel is back in business.

That adds a further uncertainty to an already uncertain election outcome. No-one feels able to forecast what difference Herr Barschel's physical absence from the campaign fray will make.

The Christian Democrats have based their entire campaign on their leader, the Prime Minister, and no-one anywhere near his equal is available to bridge the gap.

Yet even before the plane crash, in which three people died, the pundits were largely agreed that the election outcome was more uncertain than it had almost ever been since the war in the northernmost Land of the Federal Republic.

Schleswig-Holstein has always been a CDU stronghold. Only once, in 1979, did the SPD, led by Klaus Matthiesen, now Agriculture Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, come close to wresting power from the Christian Democrats — jointly with the Free Democrats and the Danish minority.

This time the CDU and the SPD can be little more than a hair's breadth apart. Will the FDP, which four years ago failed to poll five per cent, make a state assembly comeback this time now it has switched allegiance to the CDU?

Will the Greens poll five per cent and gain admission to the state assembly in Kiel? How well will the latest crop of independents fare, mainly counting on the votes of dissatisfied farmers?

None of these questions can be answered until the votes have been counted.

Besides, voters in Schleswig-Holstein have never been entirely predictable. Surprises can never be ruled out between the North Sea and the Baltic, a part of the country where people have minds of their own.

The CDU may have headed the Land government for the past 37 years, but Schleswig-Holstein voters have been known to prefer the Social Democrats in a general election.

They did so seven years ago when Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss stood as CDU/CSU Shadow Chancellor — and failed to oust Helmut Schmidt in Bonn.

So uncertainty reigns supreme in the run-up to state assembly elections that could be a clearer pointer to voters' preference countrywide than earlier

Lübeck, not to mention equally old and picturesque towns such as Ratzeburg and Mölln or Schleswig and Husum.

There is the state capital, Kiel, with its Baltic port and the HDW shipyard.

Further south, on the outskirts of Hamburg, hundreds of thousands of people live in towns such as Norderstedt and Pinneberg.

They are not just dormitory suburbs where people who work in Hamburg prefer to live. They are also industrial locations where factories and workshops are often landmarks of the landscape.

Varying regional conditions naturally play a major role in election campaigns. On the outskirts of Hamburg there are fewer problems than on the west coast, in the Dithmarschen and Nordfriesland areas, where unemployment is often well above the Land average of 9.5 per cent (at the latest estimate).

For months the CDU *Land* government has been particularly nervous about support among the farmers in the west and north between Schleswig and Flensburg. Their behaviour could be political dynamite.

The Social Democrats somewhat prematurely referred, after their recovery at the polls in Hamburg in May, to the trend toward the CDU/CSU having been reversed. An SPD victory in Schleswig-Holstein would prove them right.

That is one possibility which makes the Schleswig-Holstein elections nationally significant. Another is the two leaders, Uwe Barschel and Björn Engholm, facing each other at the helm of their respective parties for the second time.

Four years ago the SPD polled 43.7 per cent, its best showing since the Second World War, under Herr Engholm's leadership.

Both Herr Barschel and the more pensive Herr Engholm can both look back on a meteoric rise to political leadership.

An independent group that now plans to stand for election statewide polled 11 per cent.

CDU support also took a hammering in the larger towns, such as Lübeck, Flensburg and Neumünster, where there is a widespread feeling of neglect by Kiel and of the CDU only helping in areas where it can feel sure of staunch CDU support.

Local authorities are increasingly hard hit by high unemployment, over 10 per cent, as they have to tot up the social security bill.

A number of towns' problems are intensified by the crisis in shipbuilding. Closures of small and medium-sized shipyards have cost a large number of jobs in Lübeck, Flensburg and Bützow for instance.

The *Land* government fairly comments that these are problems for which, for the most part, is not to blame.

The north German *Länder* all have their difficulties, and farmers' protests and shipyard crises are by no means limited to Schleswig-Holstein.

But that is not the whole story. Regional considerations and special tension are also involved, as is shown by the number of Christian Democrats who have switched allegiance to the independents, some in connection with the dispute over the North Sea coast mudflats national park.

A number of local authorities complain of a high-handed attitude on the Land government's part.

References in general terms are not enough. Each instance is a special case for both the *Land* government and the local authority and must be dealt with in detail during the election campaign.

The parties have completed their final preparations and embarked on their campaigns. They draw comparisons, compare performances.

While the CDU is banking mainly on Herr Barschel and the *Land* party leader, Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, Herr Engholm and the SPD are campaigning as a team.

It includes Hans-Peter Büll, the former data protection commissioner to the Federal government, as Shadow Interior Minister and four women members of the SPD Shadow Cabinet.

They include Heide Simonis, who sits for Schleswig-Holstein in the Bunn



Just watch out for me, warns SPD challenger Engholm. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Bundestag, and the Hamburg women's rights commissioner Eva Rühmkorf.

And SPD leader Günther Jansen is also in the Shadow Cabinet. His role will be to pave the way for a phaseout of atomic energy.

This time the Social Democrats have hardly suffered from ideological gripes. The Schleswig-Holstein SPD self-confidently proclaims that the Nuremberg party conference endorsed views held up north for the past 10 years.

The debate on cooperation with the Greens has been enlivened off for the time being. At present it is a free-for-all and it remains to be seen whether the Greens will poll the five per cent they need to make it into the state assembly support.

They have now made a particularly trenchant impression in the past few weeks. The problems that beset the Greens nationally may reflect on them just as detrimentally as the poor showing of the GAL in neighbouring Hamburg in May.

The Free Democrats will also be glancing nervously in the direction of Hamburg, where the Hamburg FDP is negotiating coalition terms with the SPD, whereas the Liberals in Schleswig-Holstein are committed to joining forces with the CDU.

Besides, the FDP polled a substantial number of second votes in the general election last June. Whether it will still get them this time is a moot question.

The independents stand little chance of polling five per cent, but their nuisance value cannot be underestimated, and they are unlikely to cost the SPD votes.

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■ GERMANY

Asylum seekers continue arriving as other borders become tighter

About 700,000 foreign nationals are either seeking political or some other form of refuge or have been granted asylum. Another 50,000 or 60,000 are expected to arrive this year.

Since 1982, more than 12 billion marks has been spent keeping them, according to the Bonn Ministry of the Interior.

So far, 68,500 of the 700,000 have been granted political asylum; and 270,000 still live in West Germany despite having had an application rejected — or not bothering to apply in the first place.

The Interior Ministry says that over 160,000 applications for political asylum are still pending.

Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann says asylum applicants continue arriving in numbers, especially now that France, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries have drastically tightened up their immigration regulations.

As a result West Germany has become the main target, even more than in the past, of asylum applicants and organisations that help them to get here, usually from Afro-Asian countries.

In 1983 West Germany took in 28.6 per cent of asylum applicants in Western Europe. This percentage has since steadily increased, to 34.1 per cent in 1984, 43.5 per cent in 1985 and over 50 per cent last year.

As the *Länder*, which are responsible

Frankfurter Allgemeine

for deporting foreign nationals, in practice refuse to do so even in cases where they would be justified, the number of foreign residents in the Federal Republic increases annually by the number of new arrivals.

In 1986 there were 3,000 deportees in the *Länder*. Baden-Württemberg has announced plans to repatriate more asylum applicants from Poland and Hungary because, it argues, they will face no reprisals on their return.

No *Land* government has expressed any intention of deporting de facto refugees who already live in the Federal Republic even though they may have no legal entitlement.

Yet this group are the heaviest burden, financial and otherwise. Politicians are clearly motivated to a substantial extent by reluctance to lay themselves open to criticism by interested parties.

Interior Ministry figures indicate that the 700,000-plus foreign nationals consist of:

- 68,500 who have been recognised as political refugees and granted asylum;
- 32,700 other refugees allowed to stay;
- 39,900 classified as displaced persons (including people who have thrown away passports and other documents to make it more difficult for authorities to find out where they come from);
- 17,000 who live in West Germany although they have been granted asylum and refugee status in other Western countries;
- 160,000 who have applications pending. Fewer and fewer are now being recognised as political refugees. Last year a mere 10 per cent of applications were approved compared with 15 per cent in 1985;
- 270,000 de facto refugees, foreigners who have either not applied for asylum or whose applications have been rejected and are thus not legally entitled to live in West Germany but stay here because the authorities prefer not to deport them.

Federal, *Land* and local authority expenditure on refugees comes from a variety of sources, mostly budget items that include expenditure on other groups too.

Bonn has estimated expenditure on the basis of information supplied by the *Länder* and concluded that in 1984 the Federal and *Land* governments and local authorities spent roughly DM12bn on refugees:

- The lion's share — DM11.2bn — went toward the upkeep of de facto refugees;
- DM580m was spent on refugees whose applications for political asylum were pending;
- DM100m — the smallest share — was spent on recognised political refugees or quota refugees whose legal entitlement was beyond question.

These figures are based on the assumption that each refugee entitled to claim social security costs about DM 4,000 a year and that only about 40 per cent of de facto refugees apply or qualify for social security.

The Interior Ministry says these assumptions trail far behind the actual costs refugees entail. In other words, taxpayers will have paid much more in reality than the estimates suggest.

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Economic grounds

In 1985 this expenditure increased substantially due to the growing number of new arrivals (up from 35,278 in 1984 to 73,832 in 1985) and an influx of 90,000 de facto refugees.

The Ministry estimates expenditure in 1985 to have totalled at least DM2.5bn, plus a further DM3bn last year.

This year the number of foreigners in need of assistance and of applicants for political asylum has increased by over 100,000 to 700,000-plus.

Most are felt by the authorities to have sought asylum solely on economic grounds.

Besides, foreign residents, it is agreed, could only qualify for the vote by a residence qualification. In other words, they must first have lived several years in the Federal Republic.

So there would inevitably be two classes of foreign resident: those entitled

Continued on page 6

Debate over a plan to let foreigners vote

Hamburg is considering giving some voting rights to foreign residents. The idea has provoked a variety of reactions, and a plethora of legal questions.

Which foreigners would get the vote? Exactly what level of government could they vote for? Would it apply in all *Länder* or just some? Would the vote do foreigners any good if they did get it?

The idea seems logical on the non-vote-without-representation principle. Foreigners who have lived in West Germany long enough to show that they intend staying ought to be entitled to vote and not just have to pay taxes.

They would, in turn, need to fulfil minimum requirements such as being able to read and write German.

As often, the legal minutiae pose problems. References to comparable arrangements in other European countries are of little use: constitutional provisions vary widely.

Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, specifies that government derives from the people. In the context of universal suffrage that means Germans only. The reference is to the German people, so only German nationals (or naturalised Germans) are entitled to vote.

The situation may be different at the local government level. Ernst Benda, past president of the Federal Constitutional Court, says local government suffrage for foreign residents might be considered, whereas it is still out of the question in general elections.

Professor Benda, a Christian Democrat, feels that as local government decisions immediately affect foreign residents' consideration might well be given to allowing them to participate in decision-making.

Supporters of this view are in all political parties, churches and trade unions — and not just in foreign residents' councils.

Yet the constitutional doubts, for instance, by Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann cannot simply be brushed aside.

Neither can fears that voting rights for foreign residents might enable or make it easier for them to "export" to West Germany political disputes relating to their countries of origin.

Unless the indications are misleading (but expert opinions vary to such extent that this seems improbable), constitutional courts in either the *Länder* or Karlsruhe will have the last word on the subject.

Even if they were to raise no objection to local government suffrage for foreign residents, it would still be for politicians to decide whether it was politically desirable.

Another question is whether votes for foreigners would do them much good.

What kind of voting rights would they have? Strictly limited rights for one. They could only be exercised locally. Decisions at *Land* or Federal government level would continue to be reached by others even though they affect Germans and foreign residents alike.

The Federal government expects spending in 1987 to register a further substantial increase in the wake of growing numbers of foreign residents in these various categories.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 22 July 1987)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Peripheral figures in the July plot against Hitler also met their fate

DIE WELT
DEUTSCHE TÄGTLICHE FAZETTEN

At 12.30 a.m. on 20 July 1944 Colonel Stauffenberg and his adjutant, Lt von Haefen, rushed into an empty room at the Wolfschanze, or wolf's lair, Hitler's East Prussian HQ.

Stauffenberg had explained to Field-Marshal Keitel that he needed a quick change of shirt.

Time was short. The conference at which the colonel was to plant a bomb to assassinate the Führer had been brought forward.

The two explosive packs, each weighing about one kilogram, had to have their fuses set and he replaced in the colonel's attache case.

They referred to the many murders, had a long wait for their execution. They were tortured. Yet they made it clear in court that in reality it was they who were sitting in judgment on Hitler and the Nazi regime.

Freisler sought to prevent them from stating their reasons for the parts they played in opposing Hitler, but they made their motives clear.

Schleicher had been Hitler's immediate predecessor as Reich Chancellor.

The Reichswehr, which had accepted the murders without contradiction, had forfeited its honour, Hans Oster said.

He was then plain Hans Oster, a cleric with Army intelligence, having had to resign his commission two years earlier on account of a love affair. He was not recommissioned until 1935.

The Reichswehr was very particular about matters of private morality, although it tended merely to observe convention.

It failed to appreciate that public political morality was less important and that the state and its institutions must also be bound by a code of honour.

Politics, the armed forces agreed, was a dirty business.

The intrigue against Army C-in-C Colonel-General von Fritsch in 1938 for resisting Hitler's war plans was Oster's second eye-opener.

He was strongly in favour of a coup, but in vain, partly because the "dirty" removal of Fritsch from office was overshadowed by a foreign policy success, the Anschluss of Austria.

Not long afterwards, when Hitler's plotters to partition Czechoslovakia took Europe to the brink of war, Oster laid the groundwork for another carefully prepared coup.

It too, arguably the most promising bid to oust the dictator, was frustrated — by the Anglo-French policy of appeasement.

During the war he consistently kept up his resistance work. When preparations for coup repeatedly founders on problems of one kind and another, he warned the Belgians and Dutch when the Wehrmacht was planning its offensive on the Western front.

He realised that the Wehrmacht might suffer losses as result, was naturally unhappy at this prospect but felt that they justified the possible result: a crisis leading to the ousting of the régime and the conclusion of a peace treaty on terms acceptable for Germany.

Before he was appointed chief Justice, Roland Freisler wrote that the administration of criminal justice in wartime must "eliminate all signs of subversion the moment they appear, annihilate fascism from root and branch."

The period of grim revenge began. The Volksgerichtshof, the notorious Nazi supreme court, had proclaimed even before the war that its aim was not to dispense justice but to "destroy the adversaries of National Socialism."

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Justice was bereft of its blindfold and brushtised a guillotine and a hangman's noose.

Third Reich legal precepts were vague: a Wehrmacht court of honour was convened, dishonourably discharged the accused without giving them a hearing and then handed them over to the Volksgerichtshof.

Neither was brought to trial before the Volksgerichtshof. Both were arrested shortly after the failed assassination

Cameras were clandestinely set up in the court. The proceedings were filmed. Six were the executions. The condemned men were garrotted, enabling the Führer to enjoy watching them die slowly.

The first sentences were passed on 8 August 1944 and the condemned men executed the same day. There was no time for the appeal for clemency for which German law makes provision.

Men and women later condemned had a long wait for their execution. They were tortured. Yet they made it clear in court that in reality it was they who were sitting in judgment on Hitler and the Nazi regime.

Stauffenberg had explained to Field-Marshal Keitel that he needed a quick change of shirt.

They had all done what they did for Germany's sake.

Carl Goerdeler, the man who was to replace Hitler as Reich Chancellor, had voted in a draft government policy statement that "the first task must be to restore the full majesty of law."

That was the political and moral basis on which the "conspirators" were



Hans Oster... always mistrusted the Nazis.

(Photo: Ullstein)

agreed, regardless whether they were left- or right-wing in outlook.

This first principle of the resistance is embodied in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, of which Carlo Schmid once said it formed the basis of a constitution by which the rule of law prevailed in the state.

Doubts have been voiced as to whether postwar society, having allegedly tended to restore prewar social structures, has been a faithful testator of the resistance's legacy. Whether they are warranted is another matter.

The conspirators' motives can also be read about in biographies. Mention must be made of two men who played only minor roles in the July 1944 conspiracy but were of particular importance in various ways for German opposition to Hitler.

Neither was brought to trial before the Volksgerichtshof. Both were arrested shortly after the failed assassination

hid, spent time in prisons and concentration camps and finally killed in the last days of the war.

One died in Berlin, the other in Flossenbürg concentration camp in the Upper Palatinate, Bavaria.

Major-General (as he was later to become) Hans Oster became one of the Third Reich's most resolute opponents after the 30 June 1934 Röhm putsch.

He had mistrusted the Nazi regime from the outset, but his eyes were opened as to its criminal character when he saw how people were murdered in the regime's highest — people who included two generals, General von Bredow and General von Schleicher.

Schleicher had been Hitler's immediate predecessor as Reich Chancellor.

The Reichswehr, which had accepted the murders without contradiction, had forfeited its honour, Hans Oster said.

He had been cashiered in 1943 for having sought to cover a member of his staff, Hans von Dohnanyi, during a Gestapo raid.

His central place in the German resistance to Hitler was long vacant, not being occupied by Claus von Stauffenberg until 1944.

Oster was long able to skilfully defend himself. But when, by coincidence, a complete version of the Canaris diaries was found, Hitler realised that a group of determined men at the foreign intelligence department of the Wehrmacht supreme command had worked against him under Oster's leadership.

The Führer ordered Oster's liquidation. He was hanged at Flossenbürg concentration camp on 9 April 1945 after a four-day court-martial.

So were Admiral Canaris, his superior, Dr Stieck, the Army provost-general, General von Rittberg, the Seecraft bürgermeister, and his staff members Böhme, Strünker and Giebel.

Days later American troops occupied the camp.

In the early hours of 23 April 1945 sixteen prisoners in two groups were led out of Lehrter Straße prison in Berlin. They were told they were being taken to the Gestapo HQ in Pätz-Albrecht-Straße in he released.

Each man was accompanied by an armed SS soldier. The order to shoot them was given as they passed through a pile of rubble. One of the murdered men was Professor Albrecht Haushofer.

When his brother, who was also imprisoned but had been released, found him a few days later, he still held a bundle of

■ FINANCE

German-German trade 'is separate from politics'

DIE ZEIT

Many West German businessmen who trade with East Germany have high hopes that the visit of East German leader Erich Honecker to Bonn next month will stimulate activity.

They should not expect too much. Trade between the two Germanies hardly ever depends on politics. It generally keeps on increasing regardless.

Even last year, when there was a drop of 9 per cent in the value of trade, the causes were economic: the sharp drop in oil prices, lower profits from chemicals and metals. In fact, in volume terms, more goods were actually traded.

Trade with East Germany does not follow the contours of diplomatic niceties. Five-year plans, economic conditions and the dollar exchange rate are more decisive than handshakes between politbureau members and Bundestag members.

In the present commercial climate, for example, there is little scope for West Germany investing in major new East German projects because East Berlin's managers are busy modernising existing capacity rather than trying to establish new capacity. But this does mean that the climate is good for supplying capital goods.

East German purchases of mechanical engineering products and vehicles rose by 35 per cent over the past two years. Purchases of electronics went up by 59 per cent in 1985, by 70 per cent last year and this trend is continuing.

This means that the composition of trade is improving. It is a constant worry that intra-German trade does not have the chance to develop as it should between what are two industrialised states, because supplies and purchases are mainly restricted to raw materials, mineral products, primary products and agricultural produce.

In the meantime, however, investment goods have become more important and now account for 30 per cent of West Germany's trade with East Germany, the largest single item. Chemical products are in second place followed by iron and steel, agricultural products and textiles.

Textiles and clothing have become more important items in West German purchases from East Germany, after crude oil deliveries dropped a half in money terms but not in volume.

Chemical products are at third place, then machinery, electro-technology and agricultural produce.

There are no hopes of major project contracts. East German officials are giving their attention to energy battle-necks, to antiquated power stations and to catching up in environmental protection, which both public and the government are now acutely conscious of.

No-one can say whether any solid business, that could include cooperation, will come out of this. There is no doubt that desulphurising brown-coal power stations in East Germany would be in the Federal Republic's best interests, primarily West Berlin's, but the cost for this is so enormous that Bonn can only offer technical assistance rather than cash.

There are further possibilities of increasing trade in consumer goods. This has always played an important role.

East Germany has become one of the major purchasers of shoes and West German and West Berlin department stores are full of East German textiles — even if West German labels are sown on them before shipment.

In this sector East Germany is at the mercy of considerable competition. When the dollar exchange rate is weak manufacturers in the Far East are cheaper. East Germany then has to drop its prices or do without hard currency.

Often East German factories cannot come up to Western quality demands. Continuously there are complaints that the range of goods available from East Germany is too limited, that delivery dates are too long and that the East German economy, measured against Western requirements, is too inflexible.

This is true also in border-trading. Anyone wanting to sell goods in East Germany must commit himself to purchasing goods to the same value from East Germany. This is particularly the custom as regards investment goods.

Experts have expressed the opinion that East Germany's ability to deliver goods to western markets has suffered recently and that East Germany's main trading partner, the Soviet Union, is demanding improved quality.

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The struggling West German steel industry has been delighted at a contract with the East Germans in which they agreed to take up DM300m worth of West German rolled steel annually.

But an expert in the steel industry points out that there are conditions to this agreement, "that have accelerated the ruin of ARBED Saarstahl."

The conditions that the East Germans are demanding from West German clothing companies are no less ruinous, the difference is, however, that in East Germany no-one goes bankrupt.

*Jozefin Nawrocki
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 24 July 1987)*

*Annull Goch
(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 July 1987)*

Continued from page 4
told to vote and those not entitled to vote.

What is more, depending on political majorities in state assemblies there seem sure to be Länder where foreigners have the vote and Länder where they don't.

In foreign trade terms commerce with East Germany accounts for only 1.5 per cent of the Federal Republic's total foreign trade.

Dissatisfaction is a foregone conclusion. It would be even greater if the vote were only to be granted to European Community citizens, so excluding about four million foreign residents, the Turks.

Hamburg's proposal — always assuming anything comes of it — may be a necessary move as a bid to clarify the constitutional aspects.

But as a means of promoting the integration of foreign residents keen to stay

is applied to deliveries to East Germany, in general six per cent, lower than the VAT applied within the Federal Republic, generally 14 per cent.

Purchases from East Germany are also favoured because a prior-tax deduction of eleven per cent can be applied to them. This means purchasers get a refund, which East German suppliers can, when possible, take into account with their prices.

Agricultural produce is traded at the price levels prevailing within the European Community and not at much lower world prices.

Accounts are settled through central banks in units of account that correspond to the West German deutschemark. This means that East Germany, short of hard currency, does not have to use convertible currency.

The OECD says growth might reach 2 per cent next year.

The report, whose view of the prospects for 1987 and thereafter is endorsed "with extraordinary uncertainty factors" expects there to be an increase in unemployment. It will increase from the current eight per cent to 8.25 per cent in 1988.

Consumer prices will also tend to increase. This year the OECD estimates a rise of 0.75 per cent and in 1988 an increase of 1.5 per cent.

In the second half of 1987 exports could begin to increase again at a modest rate.

In order to combat unemployment and tackle current account surpluses more effectively the OECD recommends measures to relate domestic demand.

Investment to extend capacities and create jobs could contribute to this. But better short-term growth prospects are necessary to increase this kind of investment.

Reducing currency exchange rate uncertainty, tax policies and developments in wages would contribute to improving the investment climate.

The OECD recommends a speeding up of doing away with subsidies and introduction of business tax. This could be done by bringing further forward the planned measures in the 1990 tax reform.

The OECD report on "Germany 1987" has, generally speaking, praise and criticism for the economic policies pursued by the Federal Republic.

Stable prices, budget funding, the flexibility on the labour market and the profits situation are looked upon as positive.

The OECD regards critically the high unemployment rate, inadequate deregulation and current account surpluses.

The Economic Affairs Ministry welcomed the fact that the OECD had approved of the Bonn government's policies, but there was no question of bringing forward tax reform.

*Arnulf Goch
(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 July 1987)*

in Germany (and them only) local government suffrage would seem to be an unsuitable and half-hearted measure.

If foreign residents who work here and pay taxes are to be enabled to play a larger part in society as a whole, the restrictions on naturalisation must be eased. They must become German citizens.

That would make the votes for foreigners debate superfluous. It would also have a bearing on the debate about military service for foreign residents.

It would certainly take the edge off the argument that foreign residents are being called on yet again merely to bridge a gap or to discourage others from following in their footsteps.

*Volker Dieckmann
(Nürnberg Nachrichten, 20 July 1987)*

OECD lowers its growth estimate

A n OECD report on the West German economy not as rosy as the view of the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn.

The Paris-based international organisation forecast in July last year that West Germany would have a GNP growth rate in real terms of 3.1 per cent this year. This has been revised downward to 1.5 per cent.

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The Economic Affairs Ministry welcomed the fact that the OECD had approved of the Bonn government's policies, but there was no question of bringing forward tax reform.

The attempt was a miserable failure and nearly proved the group's undoing.

After the war hardship continued for years to be the constant companion of people in the Salzgitter area. The barracks were home for thousands of refugees. Allied dismantling of the works facilities continued until autumn 1950.

The group now includes a housing corporation that over the years has built over 20,000 homes in Salzgitter alone — a reminder of the hardship of the company's first, pioneering decade.

In spring 1950 foundry workers staged a sit-in on foundations in which explosives had been wired for firing. This resistance stumped the British occupying troops.

It stumped the Land government in Hanover and the Federal government in Bonn too. No-one really knew what to do with the Salzgitter torso the country had been bequeathed.

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■ INDUSTRY

Salzgitter, a heart of iron and a soul of steel

Few would have given the Reichswerke Hermann Göring, an ore mining and iron and steelmaking group founded in Salzgitter, a better chance of surviving for half a century when it was founded in July 1937.

Even its founders, especially Göring, who was in charge of the four-year plan, must have had doubts whether the project would even get off the ground.

"While others had modernised facilities and were able to make hay while the boom lasted, both paying dividends and salting away reserves, Salzgitter continued to live from hand to mouth."

The only dividends ever paid to Bonn, the sole shareholder, were made from 1957 to 1961 as a gesture to show the world that Salzgitter was determined to hold its own.

Yet survive and flourish it did and has. The monumental administrative centre in Salzgitter, next door to the steelworks, shows that.

Nearby iron ore deposits, discovered in the early 1930s, were initially to have been used by the Ruhr steelmakers, but they put forward one argument after another for not using Salzgitter ore with its low iron content.

So Göring decided to go it alone and set up an integrated iron and steel combine comprising 32 foundries and a city designed for a population of 130,000.

Fresh doubts arose when construction work was hit by the outbreak of war in 1939, when 41,000 forced labourers, including 21,000 foreign nationals, were already housed in makeshift camp accommodation.

The forced construction of the steelworks took a heavy toll, especially of human lives," wrote Ernst Pieper some years ago. "For many forced labourers, prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates Salzgitter was a place of horror."

Herr Pieper has been chief executive of Salzgitter since 1979. He is only the group's fifth chief executive in 50 years.

Stable prices, budget funding, the flexibility on the labour market and the profits situation are looked upon as positive.

The group now includes a housing corporation that over the years has built over 20,000 homes in Salzgitter alone — a reminder of the hardship of the company's first, pioneering decade.

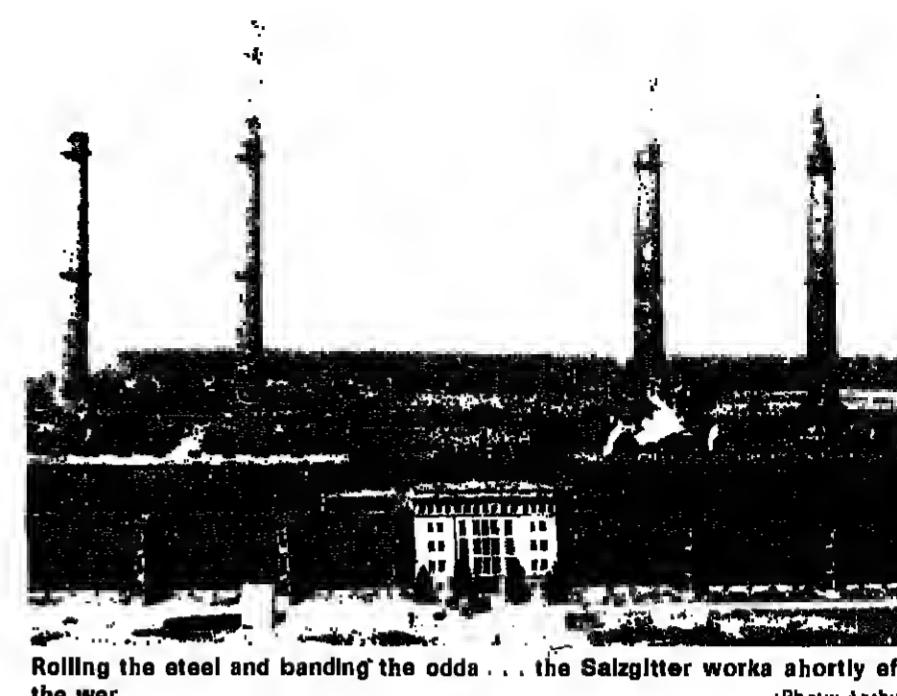
In a trade-in, Salzgitter took over in return the Deutsche Werft shipyard in Hamburg. It too was soon to prove a bottomless pit.

In the late 1960s Birnbaum was keen to merge the Salzgitter and Peine steelworks. In retrospect that was a costly mistake.

He had hoped synergy would cut costs and boost profits, but it didn't. The market for sectional steel has since steadily declined.

Bonn and Hanover realised, by the time foundry workers had ceased worrying about the ideological implications of the inheritance and were merely worried about the jobs, that something had to be done.

Yet reconstruction did not begin until 1952, by when steelmakers in the Ruhr and in nearby Peine were already making good money.



Rolling the steel and banding the rods... the Salzgitter works shortly after the war.

(Photo: Archives)

Shipyard executives Manfred Lennings and Norbert Henke were equally misguided in deciding to build a jumbo dock for supertankers in Kiel.

The shipbuilding division would have done better to diversify while the going was good.

That, at any rate, is easier said than done. Hagenauk, the Kiel electronics company taken over in the late 1970s, was initially a brilliant money-spinner.

Then the Bundespost, the company's chief customer, revised the buying policy of its telecom division, presenting Hagenauk with problems and leaving the company in the red.

Most of the Salzgitter stake in C. Otto, a coke works manufacturer taken over in the 1970s, has now been resold. Salzgitter would have preferred not to sell its holding in the Sachs group, bought at roughly the same time.

It will shortly be resold to Mannesmann for roughly DM210m. In cash terms that will mean a profit, since Gunther Sachs sold his shareholding to Salzgitter for DM145m.

But Herr Pieper saw the Sachs shareholding as a major opportunity of stabilising repeated, disappointing trends in the further processing sector.

If that had been possible, then Salzgitter would probably have needed to own a majority shareholding in the Sachs group if further processing was to emerge as a third mainstay (in addition to steel and shipbuilding).

The Federal government in Bonn, as the owner of Salzgitter, decided against this idea.

Salzgitter executives may have assured Bonn that the group could raise the capital to transform its Sachs stake into a majority shareholding, but Finance Ministry officials were sceptical.

Understandably maybe. Over the past five years they have had to bail Salzgitter out with cash payments totalling a staggering DM1.3bn.

The Federal government, still the sole owner of the Salzgitter group, has seldom ever had reason to be pleased with its performance. It paid out nearly DM700m in the 1970s, much of which was invested in takeovers and shareholdings.

The Sachs stake cost DM145m, the Celle soundproofing firm Stankiewicz DM50m, C. Otto DM30m and Hagenauk in Kiel, the Kloth-Senkung foundry in Hildesheim and the Bremen crane-builders Kocks about DM20m.</

■ THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

Whipple's whirl: a carmaker chief looks for profit, not at the market share

DIE ZEIT

A year ago, Kenneth Whipple was posted from Ford headquarters in Detroit to Europe with good wishes — and the order to push annual profits to a billion dollars (1.8 billion marks).

Ford is the second largest vehicle maker in the world. And there are not many in this billion-dollar profit class. There are only two in Europe: Italy's giant Fiat, manufacturers of flashy small cars making good profits for the well-protected domestic market; and Daimler-Benz, the largest supplier of luxury cars.

Peugeot did report a billion-dollar profit the year before while Volkswagen, which makes more vehicles than anyone else in Europe, made just over half a billion.

The remaining mass automobile producers, General Motors (Opel) and the French state-owned Renault, all made losses.

Whipple's task, then, seems massive if the firm's recent performance is looked at: since 1980, Ford Europe has on average earned only 300 million dollars a year.

But there are reasons to believe that Whipple can do it. First, Ford has once before realised a profit of 1.2bn dollars. That was in 1979 when the present Ford President, Harold "Red" Poling, was based in London as head of Ford Europe.

Second, Whipple was able to report a tidy sum to Detroit for 1986: profits of 559m dollars, 71 per cent up on the previous year.

But, third, the most telling reason is that Whipple believes a further increase in profits is a matter of course.

Obviously he has not yet achieved his aim: investment in the car industry is a long-term affair. Often years pass between notion and results.

The sharp decline in costs is primarily the reason why Ford is today doing so well, principally as regards personnel.

This began early in the 1980s when Whipple's predecessor, Robert A. Lutz, was chairman of Ford Europe.

Whipple said: "If 1979 is compared with the previous year it can be seen that in both years unit production was the same, but in 1986 the workforce was reduced by a third, that is with 50,000 fewer blue and white collar workers."

This trend is continuing under Whipple. He said: "By the end of this year for certain there will be fewer than 100,000 employed by Ford Europe."

Fiat, Fiat and Peugeot are all going along the same road: reduction in the workforce and markedly increased yields. Only Volkswagen is giving priority to creating jobs. Last year alone VW took on a further 20,000, but profits continued to be unsatisfactory.

Whipple said of the Volkswagen situation: "Volkswagen has a higher pay level than its competitors, but also one advantage: VW cars have a very good image with customers."

Ford have problems with the public image their cars have. Whipple's predecessor Lutz, who, unlike Whipple, is a

car man through and through, last year had to state frankly "that Ford's image in Germany did not match up to the product's merits."

This has resulted in higher marketing and sales promotion costs, particularly if the market share was to be increased.

This strategy of buying into a greater market share by higher publicity spending pushed Ford in 1984 to a profit low of 147m dollars.

For the first time Ford topped the sales list in Europe, but profits remained elusive.

Lutz said last year: "A relationship could indeed be seen between market share and profits before the European market became so competitive and before marketing and special concessions became so important. This is no longer the case."

Lutz cut back budgets for marketing and advertising. Whipple also gives little thought to market shares. He said that no Ford manager in Europe would get into trouble if market share dropped slightly. "But when profit margins drop, we want to know why."

Whipple believes that cooperation agreements with competitors as a means of cutting costs have not been exploited to the full. He said: "There are many ideas but none of the dimensions such as the Fiat deal that failed."

During Lutz's time in the Ford Europe chair Ford set its sights on a marriage with Fiat. Whipple said enthusiastically that this was a great proposal. But nothing came of a link with the European car manufacturer with by far the greatest profits and turnover, because in the end both sides wanted to run the show.

Later national pride halted Ford attempts to swallow up two loss-making state-owned firms, Austin Rover in Britain and Alfa Romeo in Italy.

Whipple commented: "They were both good opportunities to buy undervalued companies with attractive mixes of car."

Fiat thought "saw in this bid to take over Alfa Romeo a threat to its supremacy on the domestic market." Whipple said, "The result was that Alfa Romeo was taken over by Fiat."

Whipple admits that car manufacturers talk to one another a great deal. Cur-

rently discussions are focused primarily on joint development and production of components such as axles and gear boxes, in this way cost-cutting. Nothing spectacular, but it could be.

Is it conceivable that Ford could develop a new car with other manufacturers? Whipple said: "It could be. We have two options. We could work together for a new middle class car with other Europeans, Volvo for instance. Or we could also develop a new car working with Ford in the US as we are doing with the successor to the middle class Sierra."

The American parent company in Detroit holds a 25 per cent share in Japanese manufacturer Mazda. Ford strategists have more than once aired the idea of developing a new car with Ford USA, Ford Europe and Mazda. It would be a successor to the Escort that competes with VW's Golf.

Whipple said that a decision has been taken against this idea. "We shall develop another model." He added that "the decisive reason for this was that Ford's European organisation must preserve engineering capacity."

Although an old saying about Ford in Europe goes that "it operates everywhere but belongs nowhere," the company does have a stamping ground of its own, though it is not emphasised.

Production plant is located in four countries, West Germany, Britain, Spain and Belgium.

Just where a specific number of cars from the Ford range are produced is determined not only by the workers' productivity but also, as now, by currency shifts.

All Ford cars come off the production line at two locations in Europe except for the Scorpio that is produced exclusively in Cologne.

The strength of the deutschmark against sterling has made the Ford factories in Britain much more attractive.

Whipple, always on the look-out for cost advantages, expressed it this way. "Productivity in the British factories is not as high as it is in West Germany, if one compares output of cars per man per year."

He continued: "It will be a long time before the British overtake the Germans in productivity."

Opel chairman Horst W. Herke says that after three lean years, the company is expecting an improvement.

The company lost 141 million marks last year, 6.2 million marks more than in 1985 but well below the record loss of 695 million marks in 1984.

But, at a press conference, Herke preferred to dwell on future rather than the 1986 results. Understandable, since this is the company's anniversary year.

Last year turnover was DM14.83bn (1985: 14.79bn). Opel produced 925,536 cars and commercial vehicles during the year (1985: 938,071).

There was a considerable shift in sales from exports to the domestic market with 41 per cent of Opel's car production being sold in the Federal Republic.

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Kenneth Whipple... good wishes end a tall order. (Photo: Ford)

■ RESEARCH

Super computer gets a big reception

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

A German super computer which is extremely economical on power has been included as potentially one of the three best in the world.

The assessment was in a survey by the Columbia University of New York, which looked at the 30 most advanced super-computer projects.

Professor Wolfgang Giloi, of the Mathematics and Data Processing Society (GMD) explained at a Press conference what made the German Suprenum (short for super-computer for numerical applications) project such an outstanding one.

Next spring it is to be followed by a fully operational finished installation as a construction prototype for the manufacturers, Krupp-Atlas.

The main uses for which the super-computer has been designed include partial differential equations such as in current and air flow problems.

Computing such data is easier than carrying out wind tunnel tests. Besides, a number of problems, such as wind flow between vehicle underbody and road surface, cannot be simulated in wind tunnels.

He explained the two approaches to super computers. The leading American super computer, Cray II, is based on the idea that a super-computer must be equipped with the fastest circuits and the most advanced technology.

Despite the Suprenum project's imminent success (at an overall R & D cost of DM130m, one third for hardware, two thirds for software), project experts are already thinking in terms of an even faster successor model. Suprenum. Professor Giloi says, will only stand a chance of gaining a firm market footing if the customer knows it is not a one-off venture and will be further developed.

Besides, project staff must live up to the claim made by a Krupp-Atlas executive who forecast: "Whatever the latest Cray model can do, we will supply the same performance at half the price."

Processing speed is correspondingly stupendous: up to 1.2 billion arithmetic operations per second.

The German working party opted for a different approach: to use components four to five times slower but 100 times more integrated, with up to one million circuits per chip.

A super-computer along these lines uses only a quarter of the power required by a Cray II, so costly coolant systems can be dispensed with, making the whole installation less expensive.

To ensure that handling speeds were still fast the design was based on serial processing on a grand scale. The first Suprenum version consists of 256

micros arranged in series, each with the performance of a personal computer.

They can each process data simultaneously, thereby more than offsetting the disadvantage of slower handling speeds.

The final version of the Suprenum is designed to handle five billion computations per second, or four times as many as a Cray II.

The German super-computer was developed at the Research Centre for Innovative Computer Systems and Technologies (German abbreviation: First) in Berlin.

The centre, headed by Professor Giloi, is run jointly by the GMD and the Technical University of Berlin.

The first prototype was delivered to a company in Bonn at the end of May.

Next spring it is to be followed by a fully operational finished installation as a construction prototype for the manufacturers, Krupp-Atlas.

The new long-range versions of the European Airbus, the A 330 and A 340, will be tested in scale model at Porz. Carmakers, the railways and others are expected to use the new wind tunnel.

It is already clear that the tunnel will be fully booked next year when it becomes fully operational.

There used to be two main ways of using models to test aircraft handling characteristics at the design stage, says KKK project manager Günter Vieweger.

An installation of this kind cannot incorporate components with a high degree of integration: the power turnover would be so enormous that process heat could no longer be offset by a liquid coolant system.

Cray I, of which roughly 120 have been sold all over the world, worked with a single main processor. Cray II, first marketed two years ago, has four main processors arranged in series, so data can be processed in parallel and not just in sequence.

Processing speed is correspondingly stupendous: up to 1.2 billion arithmetic operations per second.

The German working party opted for a different approach: to use components four to five times slower but 100 times more integrated, with up to one million circuits per chip.

A super-computer along these lines uses only a quarter of the power required by a Cray II, so costly coolant systems can be dispensed with, making the whole installation less expensive.

To ensure that handling speeds were still fast the design was based on serial processing on a grand scale. The first Suprenum version consists of 256

New wind tunnel blows a howling, sub-zero gale

It is claimed to be the most advanced wind tunnel in the world and has been brought into operation in Cologne.

A technique in which the atmosphere inside the tunnel is cooled to minus 173 degrees Centigrade enables accurate testing at an earlier design stage than has been possible before.

Nasa has a similar tunnel at its research centre at Langley, but the operator of the Cologne tunnel, the Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR) says it has benefited from Nasa's mistakes.

KKK, short for Kryo-Kanal Köln, will enable airliners to be tested at a much earlier design stage.

The Cologne wind tunnel is deep-frozen to -173° C, a temperature at which much more accurate measurements can be taken than at room temperature — even with scale models.

In this way the wind tunnel itself can be kept small. The new tunnel is only 2.40m (8ft) in diameter, so aircraft models must not have a wing-span of more than 1.5m (5ft).

They must also have extremely smooth surfaces. Unevennesses must not be more than 16 thousandths of a millimetre.

Models are hand-made and expensive. A model for the Cologne wind tunnel can cost up to DM1m, or roughly twice the cost of a normal wind tunnel model.

But the DFVLR says the cost should, within a few years, be only 30 per cent higher than that of, say, conventional wind tunnel models.

The Cologne facility is only the second of its kind in the world. Nasa has a similar wind tunnel at its Langley research centre.

The German research establishment, Herr Vieweger says, has learnt from Nasa's mistakes and can fairly claim to run the world's most advanced wind tunnel.

It cost DM11.4m and has already shown, in principle, that it works. But calibration and other preliminaries must be carried out over the next six months or so before the facility can go into full operation.

Once experience has been gained in Cologne there are plans to build a larger European cryo-wind tunnel costing several hundred million marks.

This big brother, also planned to be built in Cologne, will open up new vistas for European aerospace research.

Anatol Jahnsson
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, III July 1987)



Everyone's blowing hot over this wind tunnel. (Photo: DFVLR)

Opel confident better times are on the way

During the past year DM1.51bn was invested in the three Opel factories in Rüsselsheim, Bochum and Kaiserslautern — simultaneously depreciations of about a billion deutschmarks were applied.

In total Opel has poured out more than three billion deutschmarks for plant modernisation over the past two years.

Opel expects to get back into black figures in 1987. "The world will have to come to an end if we do not make a profit this year," Herke explained.

Walther Wulke
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 26 June 1987)

He said that in his view profits would be around the three digits in millions level.

All the signs are favorable for this to come about. So far this year every month has ended up in black figures, and the market share of 16 per cent is above the previous year's level of 15.5 per cent.

After three lean years the fat years should be on the way.

Opel is producing more and more pollution-controlled cars. Including controversial diesels, 86 per cent of all newly-registered cars have the grading that they are pollution-controlled.

In the first four months of this year 45,000 vehicles with catalytic converters were moved into showrooms, putting Opel well ahead of competitors.

Walther Wulke
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 26 June 1987)

220,000 suppliers of 75,000 products 'made in Germany'



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■ EXHIBITIONS

Making up for lost time in south-Arabian art

**STUTTGARTER
ZEITUNG**

The first exhibition of Southern Arabian culture, from pre-historical times to the present, has been opened at the State Ethnological Museum in Munich.

The exhibition includes some of the most important artworks from the Yemen and excellent examples of Yemeni art that have had to be collected from all over the world.

Until recently the Yemen has been a very inaccessible country. The artefacts of its civilisation have not found their way into European and American museums as have artworks from Iran or the early history of the empires that developed in present-day Turkey.

Even today it is an adventurous undertaking to get to know about the country and its political set-up. The north of the region, where the most important historical buildings are to be found, has been closed to European influence most of this century so that this area is one of the poorest and least developed regions of the world.

In 1962 there was revolution and civil war that lasted seven years.

The result was that the region was divided into two independent states, the smaller, but much more populous, Yemen Arab Republic in the north, which is capital in Sana'a, and the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, dependent on the Soviet Union, in the south, with Aden as its capital. The British occupied Aden in 1839.

Museum officials in Munich have had to make contact with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the British Museum, London, the Louvre in Paris, the Art-history Museum in Vienna, the National Museum in Sana'a and the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin to be able to gather together representative exhibits for their Yemen art exhibition.

From an academic point of view there was a lot of catching-up to be done to gather information about Southern Arabian art and history.

Only over the past 20 years has the location and the real appearance of the ancient Southern Arabian inscriptions been known on which the chronology of the region's pre-history is based.

The dam at Marib, the most important technical construction in the whole of the Ancient World, has only been investigated over the past six years by German experts with support from the Volkswagen Foundation.

Based on this research the exhibition's punchy second title appears in an unfavourable light, "3,000 years of Art and Culture in Fortunate Arabia." It implies that the Yemen, as a cradle of civilisation, is comparable to other ancient oriental cultures, a civilisation in which the monumental culture of the Sabean peoples originated in the 10th century BC.

Orientalists, many of them Biblical fundamentalists and not just the Americans, refer to the legendary visit, mentioned in the Old Testament, of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, who mounted the throne in 965 BC. She is generally believed to have come from the Yemen and not from Ethiopia.

When did the Marib Dam originate? Or the larger-than-life sculptures in stone and metal, the huge religious buildings with porticos made of heavy monolithic pillars, plain buildings dominated by cubic geometrical designs in sharp contrast to the sense of space of later Islamic art.

French orientalist Jacqueline Pirenne has for decades cast doubt on the early dating of the Sabean period that has been used for many years by German experts.

She refers to inscriptions, coins, the comments of ancient writers, economic history and observations of similarities in artistic and architectural history, and comes to the conclusion that the surviving Sabean buildings and works of art are not earlier than the 5th century BC as has been believed until now, but originate from a period at the earliest contemporary with the golden age of classical Greece, which in fact had some artistic influence.

Using natural science methods of investigation on the Marib Dam it has been possible to establish more exact dating of the construction.

Based on investigations as yet unpublished, it is possible to say that the dam spanning the river valley, measuring 680 metres in length and 18 metres high, was not built to collect monsoon rainfall that fell twice a year for the intervening periods of drought, but to hold water back for short periods and to raise the level so that it could be channelled through the fields by a complicated distribution system. This unique, short-term flooding was sufficient to produce a harvest.

The system irrigated an area of 9,600 hectares. It is obvious that many centuries of nature, technological experience were used, that bears comparison with the technology of this century. The sedi-

Continued on page 12

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Bureaucrats slowly sink as frog count begins

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

From this year, all protected animals kept in captivity must be reported. Virtually all pets are affected except cats and dogs, hamsters and hedgehogs.

The regulation, under a previously ignored section of the 1985 Nature Conservation Act, has resulted in authorities being swamped with registration forms.

In at least one Land, Baden-Württemberg, officials say it will take weeks to collate the information.

Protection of species regulations specify nearly 50,000 endangered species of flora and fauna. They include most amphibians and reptiles, all European birds and all wild mammals except a handful of rodents.

Compulsory registration is also required for a number of varieties of coral fish, extremely popular with aquarium fans because they are so colourful, and nearly all parrots.

In case of doubt the Stuttgart authorities have advised the public to register a species too many rather than one too few.

This is sound advice. Failure to register a listed animal can cost the pet-lover a fine of up to DM 20,000 — twice as much as the highest fine envisaged for failure to register in the May 1987 census of bipeds.

The aim of the pet census, ridiculed by critics as "frog count," makes sense. It is to make life more difficult for illicit dealers in listed species.

That presupposes the authorities know just how many species Germans keep. And a census only makes sense if it is exhaustive.

This one isn't. That is already clear.

The authorities are hopelessly overburdened. All listed pets were to have been registered by the end of June, when the censuses was to have started.

There is no way the nature conservation officials can hope to list the tens of thousands of frogs and lizards, snakes, parrots and fish whose populations concern pet-lovers have sent in. Most lists even have to be kept by hand.

"In Baden-Württemberg alone," Herr Künkele says, "we could keep 50,000 people busy doing nothing but enforcing the legal provisions on protection of species."

Officials may or may not believe the details sent in by pet-lovers, but they can hardly check them for accuracy.

In Baden-Württemberg they have decided that discretion is the better part of valour. "We attach no importance to checking every little detail," says Siegfried Künkele, in charge of protection of species at the Environment Ministry in Stuttgart. Yet the Länders have no choice but to abide by Federal law, so they say they will be making spot, or random checks.

That is unlikely to worry the black sheep, animal dealers who are well able to cover their tracks. The Ministry and local authorities lack the manpower to enforce the law.

"In Baden-Württemberg alone," Herr Künkele says, "we could keep 50,000 people busy doing nothing but enforcing the legal provisions on protection of species."

The reality is another matter entirely. The regional authorities in Stuttgart, Tübingen, Karlsruhe and Freiburg have between them but a handful of specialists who could tell the difference between a tree-climbing frog from Central America and an Indian bullfrog.

Heads of department are usually law-

yers, by training. They would have to pore over encyclopedias before they even knew either species existed.

Yet the law poses much more demanding problems. How is a South American rainbow bat to be marked when it sloughs every year?

How do you determine the sex of a spurred horn frog, a native of Colombia?

How do you assess the age of a tropical butterfly fish?

Innumerable questions of this kind arise. Officials are left to find out the answers themselves. "Instructions," Herr Künkele says, "have yet to be issued." They seem unlikely to be issued in a hurry.

Even if the pet census is ever completed, the problems will have no more than begun. The law requires notification within four weeks of changes such as a new owner or a change of address.

Notification is also required if a pet

Continued on page 14

Continued from page 10

ment carried by the water meant that the dam had to be continually heightened. This meant that archaeological layers remained undisturbed. These, together with pollen analysis and investigations of heavy metals carried in the waters and other dating methods, have made it possible to draw up a chronology, because the date of the destruction of the dam is known, 575 AD.

Investigations have shown that the dam was used without interruption for a period of 1,100 years, so that it must have been built at the end of the 6th century BC.

This has vindicated Jacqueline Pinenne's view totally. The compilers of the accompanying guide, who got to know about these reassessments in plenty of time, accepted this new dating and have used it although they have in some instances flunked the issue of pre-cise dating.

Nonetheless, visitors will not bother themselves to much with chronology when they see the bronze statuettes, alabaster busts and the Aleppo stones, certainly in memory of the dead, all over 2,000 years old, on show in the exhibition.

Certainly the masterworks of Islamic books are a considerable attraction. They are not under any kind of illumination, so as not to damage them, thus good eyesight is called for to appreciate them.

There are examples of work from the Rawalid dynasty (1228-1454) that blaze with light just as much as the many modern ear-rings, armbands, necklaces and bangles.

The really interested visitor will be concerned with other things. Primarily with the reconstructed bazaar of the present, covering a thousand metres, a perfect reconstruction of the Souq of Al-Tawila, made possible by the synthetic material styrofoam. This is much more authentic than anything that has been done previously.

It has been possible to give a total architectural impression: The visitor has the feeling of really wandering through alleyways and if one is not careful one

Four volumes are available:

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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Look it up in Brockhaus

F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709; D-6200 Wiesbaden 1

Hartmut Binder
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 July 1987)

The number of AIDS sufferers who

are reported to be infected in Germany

is increasing rapidly, according to a recent report.

The report, prepared by the Federal

Health Department, shows that the

number of AIDS patients in Germany

now stands at approximately 1,000.

According to the report, the number

of AIDS patients in Germany is

estimated to be around 1,000.

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■ FRONTIERS

Dead prosecutors tell no tales: the Colombian cocaine connection

In August last year, a murder suspect called Werner Pinzner pulled out a pistol at Hamburg's police headquarters and shot public prosecutor Wolfgang Bistry, 40. He turned the gun on his wife, Jutta Pinzner, 39, and finally on himself. He died straight away. His wife and Bistry died later in hospital. An autopsy revealed traces of cocaine in Pinzner's body. His lawyer, Isolde Öchsle-Misfeld, who is in custody on suspicion of having aided and abetted Pinzner, was also in the room but was not injured. Here, Franz Wauschkuhn takes another look at the case with a year's hindsight and sees a sinister development — the emergence of organised crime in the drugs business for the first time in Germany. The suggestion now is that the Pinzner shooting was pre-meditated act ordered by an organisation to silence a prosecutor who knew too much. It was part of an opening salvo in an attempt to take over the piccecial drugs business and organise from Hamburg its importation and distribution.

Wauschkuhn's article appeared in *Reichscher Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

Antique thefts were one field. Drugs were another. And sex. There were whisperings about the existence of films showing politicians and policemen in compromising scenes.

The rumours flourished and enough came to light to fire them. For example, two senior members of the city's planning authority were discovered to have invested in big brothels.

The Pinzner affair shocked an unsuspecting public. What happened while he was in jail and the background, as far as it could be established, was something new.

His wife, Jutta, brought him cocaine in his cell. In return, he gave her hashish which he had managed to obtain from other sources.

His treatment was lenient because he was a major source of evidence against the others in custody. There had been threats against him from the St. Pauli underworld. Because of this, his food was brought from a hotel rather than from the prison canteen.

It was a transformation the media was getting behind, conjuring up old romantic memories of St. Pauli with travelling entertainers, vaudeville shows and souvenirs.

The General's hopes were high. Public pressure was being applied to Hamburg's Social Democrat administration to do something to help commercial rejuvination instead of letting the area decay.

All these high hopes ended with a bang on 29 July last year: right inside Hamburg's police headquarters building a man being held in investigative custody pulled out a Smith & Wesson .38 calibre revolver and shot public prosecutor Wolfgang Bistry, his own wife, Jutta Pinzner, and finally shot himself.

The gunman, Werner Pinzner, 39, died straight away. His wife and Bistry died later. A stenographer, two unarmed policemen and Pinzner's defense counsel, Isolde Öchsle-Misfeld were unhurt.

In a flash, everything had changed. Until now, the name of Pinzner was significant only to newspaper reporters.

In January of last year, 12 people from Hamburg's underworld were being held in investigative custody. Nine being held on drug charges were regarded as small fish. The other three were Josef Nusser, 36, a brothel owner, who was alleged to have incited the other two, Pinzner and Armin Hockauf, to murder.

Pinzner had been surprised at his home by a special operations squad and

he was immediately charged with five murders. This was taken with a pinch of salt by the public, who were used to the tabloid Press blowing out all proportion the investigations of the Hamburg police.

Time and time again, an arrested Mr Big turned out to be a pip-squeak brothel owner. Quarrels between eliques of pimps were presented as battles between big-crime gangs. The attitude was that the police were breaking up nonexistent organised crime.

But, despite denials by police, rumours of tightly organised crime in Hamburg had taken root and would not go away. Not the fantasy crime the police kept breaking up, but a genuine new type of organised crime that belongs in the public mind more to New York and Chicago than anywhere in Germany.

How could Pinzner go on killing without being suspected? One reason is that he was underestimated.

His brutality was well known. He had been jailed for 10 years for the "manslaughter" of a Hamburg businessman during a holdup of a Hamburg supermarket, but was nevertheless regarded only as a junior member of the underworld.

It was only when he was released on parole that police realised what sort of criminal they were up against. He and an accomplice held up a money courier in Hamburg's inner city. In July 1984, when he again got on parole, he shot dead an Israeli called Jehuda Arzi, an underworld figure with international connections and the owner of brothels in Constance and Kiel.

The Killer of St. Pauli was a social failure whose original simple aims in life became lost in a welter of luxury. He went to *Hauschkuhn*, the most rudimentary of the secondary school system and managed to get through. He was a volunteer in the Bundeswehr but came unstuck because of his insubordination.

He was in no way isolated. In July, he was suddenly put on prison food. Then the judge who heard the custody application ruled, over the objections of the prison, that Pinzner should take a communal free period together with 25 other prisoners. In view of the threats, it was an amazing decision from the bench.

On top of this: counsel Öchsle-Misfeld spoke with him 73 times during his 115-day stay in custody. His wife visited him 12 times. And when Pinzner was being interviewed, Jutta Pinzner was always there as a psychological prop. His lenient treatment meant that the checks on what was brought him were lax.

Pinzner did not want to be labelled as a small-time killer. He wanted to go down as a Big Killer. At least this is what Pinzner was said to be a monthly

Continued from page 12

dies — or gives birth to young. Law-abiding owners of pet frogs have to notify the authorities within a month how many tadpoles have gone on to become young frogs.

Jokers add that the only missing link is a statutory requirement to notify the authorities if a pet falls sick.

One of the few exceptions to the rule is sufficient to show what nonsense the well-meaning legal provisions are.

Catching an ordinary frog and keeping it in a jam-jar — a practice animal-

what his message seemed to be. He was frank about his murders both with prosecutor Bistry and with his relatives. He said in letters that another six killings could be added to his list. "Tell that to the Press," he wrote in one letter. "They're so red hot on you don't believe it." Whether that was the truth or the imaginings of a criminal mind hidden with cocaine in known.

One of the most spectacular murders that remains to be solved (was it on Pinzner's account?) happened in a dive in the Reeperbahn called "Zur Ritz" (slang for a woman's genitalia) where pimps meet. On 28 September, 1981, a certain Peter Schröer was executed in front of beer-drinking customers. Naturally, nobody saw anything.

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He was a butcher's apprentice for a while and then went to sea as a ship's kitchen hand. He became a waiter and became unemployed. He fell from petty crime into serious crime.

He paraded his symbols of status: a fighting Mastino bulldog was constantly at his side. "Dogs don't lie," he said. "I prefer them to most people."

His view of life became cynical. "I am God. They say God controls life and death. Look, I have controlled it. I have (caused) life to be born and I've taken life." That was in a letter to Jutta.

But he didn't murder for the sake of it. He saw himself as a professional.

Even the shooting in police headquarters was probably on contract. Bistry knew too much about the intrigues of some big underworld figures. The pay off for Pinzner was said to be a monthly



Werner Pinzner... the St. Pauli killer.
(Photo: dpa)

■ HORIZONS

Beate Klarsfeld, the Nazi hunter who boxed a Chancellor's ears

DIE WELT

Beate Klarsfeld, possibly West Germany's most celebrated Nazi war crimes hunter, brought in the gilded coffee cups on a silver tray.

She stroked the two collie dogs and asked her daughter Lida what she wanted for lunch.

She lives in a gleaming home with furniture in the French style with oil paintings of Venice's Grand Canal on the wall.

I cast my mind over the many newspaper photographs I had collected about her over the past 19 years: Beate Klarsfeld being arrested in Berlin; Beate Klarsfeld in front of the Cologne remand prison; Beate Klarsfeld chained to a park bench in La Paz, Bolivia and more recently with a bouquet of flowers at the Barbie trial in Lyons.

I could not quite relate these pictures to the perfect housewife who was sitting opposite me. She hardly smiled at all when I said that only twice in the past 20 years had people spontaneously shaken my hand as a German when I had been abroad.

The first time was in 1968 in Paris after she had boxed the ears of the then Chancellor, Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, before he left for the Barbie trial in Lyons.

Frau Klarsfeld was born in Berlin.

Pictures are often shown on television of the mass graves and piled up bodies of the murdered that seem to be an abstraction without any relation to the human element involved. In the Klarsfelds' list, in page after page, attention is drawn to individuals, people who once had a name, address, occupation and children.

Indeed they did once live in this world and Beate and Serge Klarsfeld have given them back the identity of which they have been robbed, if only in black and white.

She said: "It was the only one of our projects whose income covered the costs. Surviving relatives could buy a grave-stone for us little as 110 francs."

Her laconic way of expression would have perhaps shocked me, if the picture book of the children of Izrael was not lying in front of me, laughing little boys and little girls posing for a group picture, letters such as the one from Renate Kroehmal, aged 9 from Vienna. "Dear Uncle, Aunt and Klarn, I would love to go to America. Love and kisses."

Since boxing the Chancellor's ears she has been regarded by German politicians as an exhibitionist or someone mentally ill.

Former federal Minister Ernst Lemmer said at the time of the Kiesinger incident that she was "a discontented woman."

Bonn's attitude has not changed much over the years. The West German ambassador to France sent no congratulations when she was awarded the Legion of Honour by the French Foreign Minister in 1984.

What is the reason for German uneasiness about Beate Klarsfeld, who was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the Israeli Knesset?

Beate Klarsfeld will not answer. Perhaps can't. She is not concerned with reasons. On the other side, all Germans feel in some way to be victims — the actual civil-doers, the children of the evil-doers, the women who cleared away the post-war rubble, the grandchildren.

Frau Klarsfeld would like to be accorded some honour. She wants her two French children to be proud that they have a German mother.

Barbara Ungeheuer
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 21 July 1987)



10-year battle to get Barbie... Beate Klarsfeld.
(Photo: dpa)

She said: "He must be put behind bars for life."

Are the Klarsfelds concerned with atonement, retaliation, revenge, punishment in the many campaigns they have waged all over the world, sometimes in a spectacular manner?

Beate Klarsfeld said that the press had coined the expression "Nazi hunters." She and her husband had always fought against this label. She says most of the criminals are still openly living in society.

They recently found the name of one, Kurt Lischka, in the Cologne telephone book, but she is satisfied the list is getting shorter.

As a mother, how had she taken the risks when she demonstrated against anti-Semitism in Moscow and Prague and when she was taken prisoner by the Syrian Army because she protested against the inhuman treatment of Israeli POWs?

"I had no worries, except that perhaps we would not achieve our goals. Care disappears when you concentrate fully on a campaign. I only had childish, elementary worries. I was more frightened of a dark ceiling than being taken prisoner by the Syrian Army."

She is not so controlled when it comes to discussion of her native country. She has not had a good reputation in Germany since her name hit the headlines.

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Barbara Ungeheuer
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 21 July 1987)



What is happening in Germany? How does Germany view the world?

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Andreas Müller
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 29 June 1987)